SPECIAL MEMO FROM NAACP EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The CRISIS

MARCH, 1958

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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
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Vol. 65, No. 3 **Whole Number 551**

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Muriel Poindexter of New York City, a former Morgan College student, is now a sales representative and business analyst—Layne photo.

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.* THE CRISIS *is published monthly from October to May inclusive and bimonthly June-July and August-September by The Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., at* 20 *West* 40*th Street, New York* 18, *N.Y. Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscription* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Reentered as second class matter July* 22, 1949, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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J. Edward Bailey III

L. PEARL MITCHELL *of Cleveland, Ohio, presents a $1,000 check to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, as a contribution of the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority to the Association's fight for freedom fund. Previously, the sorority had made other substantial contributions to the Association.*

■ An examination of the seven myths commonly advanced by opponents of public school integration

The Mythology of Segregation*

By John A. Morsell

IT IS not my desire here simply to denounce, to ridicule or to make light of the erroneous beliefs which are my subject. For one thing, they constitute too serious a hindrance to our social progress to be made light of; for another, they are held in near-reverence by persons of such otherwise mature attainments that ridicule seems out of place; and it has long since been demonstrated that mere denunciation is a frail tool when used to dislodge deeply-rooted aberrations.

At the same time, these aberrations are obviously not impervious to the influence of fact and reason: there have never been wanting reassuring numbers of persons, steeped in this mythology from childhood, who have nevertheless managed to free themselves from its grip. If some have done so, others can—and will. For this reason, it is important from time to time to review these beliefs, to demonstrate their error, and thus to aid in the process of correction.

I must add that, for Northern audiences, there is also an immediate objective: traditionally, Southerners have experienced amazing success in gaining acceptance of these ideas by large and important segments of northern opinion. Even where there has not been acceptance, an almost equally valuable neutrality has frequently been gained. It is no exaggeration to say that we are still paying a heavy price for the policy of conscious indifference which was adopted in the North toward the close of the last century and not thoroughly shattered until the recent events at Little Rock.

The American College Dictionary furnishes a series of definitions of the term "mythology," of which the first and fifth strike me as having particular pertinence to this discussion.

*An address by Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to the executive secretary of the NAACP, before the Student Assembly, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, on December 11, 1957.

Number One calls mythology "A *traditional* or legendary story, usually concerning some superhuman being or *some alleged person or event*, whether with or without a determinable basis of fact or a natural explanation." Number Five defines mythology as "A collective belief that is built up in response to the wishes of a group rather than an analysis of what it pertains to."

Both definitions are essentially applicable to the body of doctrine and allegation which serves the segregationalist both as a buttress to his position and as a propaganda weapon in his effort to enlist wider support. (It is no accident, incidentally, that much of this doctrine bears a more than passing resemblance to that which served a similar purpose more than a hundred years ago when Negro slavery was on the defensive.)

SOUTHERN LEADERSHIP BANKRUPT

I ought to make it clear at this point that, formidable as these segregation myths are, they do not represent the whole, or even necessarily the greatest part of the problem of carrying out the national mandate for non-segregated public institutions. The critical function in bringing about the present massive resistance to desegregation has been exercised by the power elements in Southern society—the leaders in politics especially; the press, with a few notable exceptions; Southern business and industry; and the hard core religious fundamentalists.

Generations to come will mark in their histories the dreadful cost of the bankruptcy of Southern leadership in the mid-twentieth century. Without suggesting that the Southern masses are manipulatable at will—although I think it is agreed by many conscientious observers of Southern origin that the level of suggestibility is relatively high—it can hardly be denied that the whole course of development since May 17, 1954, would have been entirely different had Southern leaders chosen a constructive rather than a destructive line. One hundred and one Southern members of the United States Congress signed a manifesto in which they repudiated the Supreme Court's school segregation decision and pledged themselves to oppose it. The fact that they promised to do so "by all lawful means" scarcely disguised the true intent, which was defiance of law.

How different would the picture be if, instead of establishing this advance sanction for lawlessness, these political leaders had declared that, while still unconvinced of the validity of the wisdom of the decision, they recognized it as the law of the land and urged compliance with it. Almost certainly, had this been done, we should have been spared Clinton and Nashville, Tennessee; Clay and Henderson, Kentucky; Mansfield and Texarkana, Texas; and Little Rock, Arkansas. Moreover, we should by now have seen integration extended to scores of localities in which it is today only a doubtful possibility for the near future. And the incalculable harm which has been done our country's good name throughout the world have been averted.

It is being more and more insistently suggested, as a matter of fact, that what we have witnessed is more

than a simple default of responsibility by Southern leadership; that it is, rather, a calculated political gambit, designed to entrench for another generation or so a provincial regional control which had been badly threatened in the elections of 1952 and 1956. According to this theory, the pro-segregation majority of Southern whites is to be so whipped up emotionally so as to ensure Dixiecrat domination for the next fifty years. Roles of influence nationally and in the Democratic Party will, of course, regretfully be consigned to the past.

Whatever the underlying intent, whatever the real strategy, there is no question that the way is made easier by the extensive hold which the segregation mythology has on the minds of so many Southern white people. It makes it easy to lead them, to intensify their feelings, to instil in them a faintly paranoid sense of being imposed upon and mistreated; it also enhances their susceptibility to rumors, fantasies, and suspicions of the most grotesque character.

Such, for example, is the allegation—which, believe it or not, has its sincere devotees—that the Supreme Court will next make it unconstitutional for a white person to refuse to have a Negro to dinner in his home. Or the rumor which circulated for a time in Little Rock to the effect that the nine Negro students at Central High School had been imported from northern cities by the NAACP, with the tacit connivance of the school board.

This kind of sub—or infra-mythology is more properly the subject of a psychiatric paper, and I shall not dwell on it here. Instead, we may now turn to the first of the half-dozen myths which are most central to the segregationist doctrine.

MYTH SEGREGATION'S ANTIQUITY

Segregation, we are told, is an age-old system of life in the South. It has endured for many generations and, if we do not respect its venerability, we must at least be given pause by the size and depth of its roots. We are warned that nothing which has lasted so long can be changed except over a commensurate length of time.

Yet, it is a fact that there are people now living, within whose lifespans the legal structure we call "Jim Crow" was erected. The establishment of the framework of laws whereby the South's Negroes were placed beyond the Pale can be accurately dated. Segregation began to appear on the statute-books of Southern states in the early 1890's and the process was virtually complete by the year 1910.

The famous *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision of 1896, for so many years the bulwark of segregated education, actually concerned a railroad segregation law in Louisiana, one of a number enacted in the two or three years before. A similar law in South Carolina met with considerable opposition, including editorials in the Charleston *News and Courier*, today a rabid supporter of segregation. Public transportation, restaurants, hotels, recreational facilities, public conveniences, and every other area of life which could practicably be encompassed within the reach of segregation law were inexorably brought under its sway.

Nor was this in any sense a "division" of facilities between white and black, with each being allotted his share. It was not truly a policy of segregation but one of exclusion. Although the Plessy case had provided the handy slogan "separate but equal," even lip-service was seldom paid to the proposition that Negro citizens should have "equal" facilities. Moreover, this intent was explicit: the records of the legislative debates are clear evidence of the conscious desire so to surround the Negro Southerner with restrictions and daily humiliations as to render unlikely any attempt by him to wield the political power to which his numbers entitled him.

For the nub of the segregation laws everywhere was the disfranchisement of the Negro. A single illustration suffices to show how effective this denial was. In Louisiana, some 130,000 Negroes voted in the Presidential election of 1896; in 1900, barely 1200 voted.

NEGROES POWERLESS

It is unnecessary to add that the Negroes themselves opposed this course of development. But they were largely powerless, having been deserted by the national government in 1877 when federal troops were withdrawn from the South, having been unable to retain their abortive alliance with the white agrarians of the Populist movement, and having been subject to a ceaseless terror of lynchings, floggings and other equally effective methods of intimidation. It was largely in reaction to these developments that the NAACP came into being, in New York City, in 1909.

Segregation by law, then, while it has doubtless enjoyed majority white support since its inception is, nevertheless, by no means the centuries-old "way of life" toasted by nostalgic white Southerners. Its removal cannot be easy or without pain; but far older social patterns have been made to vanish when it became time for them to do so. The determining principle here must be, not that segregation is *old*, but that it is old *enough*.

Both the Supreme Court decision and the efforts which have been launched since to secure compliance with it have been consistently attacked as "meddling" in the affairs of the South. Fundamentally, of course, this is a failure to accept the imperatives of national union; its extreme manifestation came in the action of Governor Faubus of Arkansas. It is argued, in essence, that the South has most of the nation's Negroes; that in some places Negroes even outnumber whites; that, in short, the problem is one which exists nowhere else and hence is of concern to nobody else.

The obvious and decisive answer is that the South—all that to the contrary notwithstanding—is an integral part of the United States of America. Aside from this, however, there are other compelling considerations. First and foremost is the fact that the greater portion of the world's population lacks either the sophistication or the desire to differentiate one section of the United States from another. This is true even in Europe, where knowledge of this country is likely to be more adequately distributed than elsewhere.

To hundreds of millions, it is America, not Arkansas or Mississippi

or Alabama which is on trial. Justice for its Negro citizens is an American responsibility, explicitly accepted in the 14th Amendment but implicit in the very terms in which this nation achieved its birth. We set our own criteria and the whole nation is judged by them. We cannot afford many more occasions which enable the Russians to exploit our humiliations two at a time—as when they made a point of special radio announcements whenever the first sputnik passed over Little Rock.

NARROWED ELECTORATE

Further, the calibre and interests of Southern Congressmen and Senators are affected to a very great degree by the racial situation and, in particular, by the narrowed electorate which persists because of widespread denials of the franchise to Negro Southerners. In Congressional Districts of equivalent voter strength, Southern representatives are typically elected by one-tenth or less of the votes required by their Northern counterparts. The strength of the Northern voter is thus reduced, proportionately, and the minimal competition of the small Southern electorate is an invitation to mediocrity. But the mediocrities are not confined to regional legislation: they make laws for all of us.

Not only that. The imperative necessity for conservation of our limited human resources is not a recent discovery, but I doubt whether as many Americans have ever before been so desperately aware of it as they are these days. Any system that dooms several million black Americans to inferior educational opportunities strikes at the vitals of the national security. Eli Ginsberg of Columbia has estimated the net annual losses to the United States in thousands of high school and college graduates as a consequence of school segregation.

And this issue is not only one of quantity—of the *numbers* of future technicians, engineers, and scholars lost forever: who can forget that Jonas Salk nearly abandoned his quest for a medical career because of the obstacles his Jewish birth raised to admission to medical school. There is a chance, at least, that the cure for cancer or the secret of controlled nuclear fusion lies in a little brown head that may never see a decent high school laboratory if it can only attend the segregated school.

When all this is granted, however, the segregationist has recourse to another myth in support of the contention that he should be left to handle the problem as he sees fit. This is that, by reason of his history and circumstances, he knows more about race relations and is better fitted to deal with them. In particular, because of his close association with such large numbers of Negroes, he understands them better than anyone else.

There is reason to believe that for many years this notion was the basis for the Army's assignment of white officers to Negro units. Southern white officers were believed to have special insights which made them more than ordinarily effective with colored troops. The only possible element of truth in this doctrine might be that many Southern Negroes had acquired from early childhood techniques of survival by accommoda-

dation to the Southern white man's expectations; hence, they tended to be more tractable under Southern white military leadership. The state of their real feelings, however, was something else again, and would have been a source of great shock had it been made manifest.

This is chiefly because, of all the claims which this myth makes for the white Southerner's gift of understanding, the most consistently advanced has been that he knows that the Negro does not really want integration; only the "agitators from the North want integration." Now, aside from the fact that a goodly number of these Northern "agitators" are of Southern origin, it is worth noting that 65 per cent of the NAACP's membership and most of its branches are in the South.

NEGROES WANT INTEGRATION

Furthermore, there has been a series of developments over the past two years which have direct bearing on the matter. In the fall of 1955, the then Governor of Mississippi, Hugh White, summoned a hand-picked group of Negro leaders to the executive mansion in Jackson for the purpose of coming to an agreement with him not to press for desegregation. Of the 89 men in attendance, there was only one taker.

In 1956, 25 teachers at a state school in Elloree, South Carolina, resigned their jobs rather than conform to a requirement that they repudiate the NAACP. And no one needs to be told about the Montgomery, Alabama, bus protest, in which some 50,000 Negroes stayed off their accustomed daily transportation until they could be assured of a free choice of seating and courteous treatment. The incidents continue to accumulate, and there is now no longer the least justification for arguing Negro satisfaction with the jim-crow pattern.

There is no doubt in my mind that much of the credit for this newfound freedom of expression belongs to the United States Supreme Court, whose 1954 decision for the first time stripped segregation of its legal respectability and thus made it a legitimate target for widespread attack by those it has victimized.

No prop of segregation boasts longer service than the appeal to "states' rights." During the years of our national growing pains, the rivalry between the states and the nation was a genuine issue, and even northern states at one time or another threatened nullification, secession, and the like. By and large, however, the doctrine received most of its nourishment in the South, becoming eventually the immediate cause of the Civil War. But the victory at Appomattox should not properly be regarded as certifying the constitutional correctness of national sovereignty; a determination by force of arms would not impart the necessary sanctity. What the Civil War determined was that the Union of States would not permit any of its members to defy, by force of arms, the principles clearly laid down when the Constitution was adopted.

The challenge by force of arms has not been repeated and will not be. But reluctance to accept the overriding power of the Federal Government has remained latent in much southern thought and must now once again be combatted—in the courts

and in the Congress and in the minds of the body politic.

STATES' RIGHTS

It is not necessary to curb the legitimate rights of the states within their legitimate spheres in order to maintain the proper perspective as to their extent. No state, it should be obvious, has a "right" to abridge the rights and privileges of citizens of the United States; and what was implicit in every elementary concept of justice was made explicit in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. Yet, historically, the most consistent use of states' rights in the South since 1865 has been as a cloak for depriving Negro citizens of *their* rights. Almost without exception, the doctrine of states' rights has been advanced in direct opposition to the assumption of states' *responsibilities*.

One often hears it argued that the Federal Government was subsequent to, hence the creature of, the states. Even if this were valid, it could be so only for the original thirteen colonies and, possibly, Texas. Every state admitted to the union since we attained our nationhood has come in as a creation of the federal power. The national government has set its boundaries, bestowed its powers, and prescribed its form of government. Whatever merit there was in this contention in 1787, it is pure sentiment today.

Naturally, this applies also to *interposition*, that ill-fated foundling which was discovered on the states' rights doorstep and widely hailed, especially in Virginia, but refused to respond to nourishment and was finally returned to limbo.

I said earlier that segregation is primarily a system of exclusion and humiliation designed to maintain the superior-inferior status relationship between the two races. This has been made so apparent that the word "segregation" makes even segregationists sensitive, it has become the fashion to speak of "separation of the races" and, conversely, of "mixing the races" when referring to desegregation.

Neither of these expressions has any relation to reality. The nearest the world has come to separation of races in modern times has been in the Union of South Africa, where total *apartheid* has been adopted as government policy. Even there, considerable doubt exists as to how thoroughly the policy can ever be effected. No such system has been advanced by the responsible segregationists; none of them has ever proposed that Negroes no longer serve white families in their homes as cooks, maids, nurses, and butlers; or in their restaurants as waiters; or in their barber shops as barbers. Yet any of these relationships strikes the rational mind as much closer and more intimate than sharing a seat on a bus or staying in the same hotel or sharing the same classroom.

The great, big difference, of course, is that the Negro servant retains his inferior social status; the Negro seated across the room in the same restaurant assumes equal social status.

Similarly, unless again one envisions complete *apartheid*, it is meaningless to speak of "mixing the races." They are already thoroughly mixed in the nonbiological sense on any downtown street in any southern

town, or in most stores in southern cities. They are already mixed, for that matter, in the colleges and universities of some of the very states which are most adamant in their present defiance of the Supreme Court.

MOSS-GROWN ARGUMENT

This, too, is a moss-grown and ancient argument. It was rife in the years before the Civil War, when it was employed as a justification for slavery, since inferior creatures could be enslaved without violating religious or ethical principles. It was successfully urged again to justify the disfranchisement of the freed Negroes, since inferior beings could not be expected to make proper use of the ballot. At a time when academic circles, at least, had assumed it was no longer viable, it has suddenly been resuscitated as a reason why Negro children should not attend school with white children.

The myth, in its current form, does not always extend to an assertion of hereditary inferiority, although this generally comes out if one presses long enough. Also, it is advanced, now with some pretense at sorrow, for the admitted lack of opportunity which may have contributed to the present condition. But its import is the same as before.

The principal documentation now is no longer the Old Testament and the sins of Cain and of Ham (except, of course, among some hard-shell Baptists). It is statistics on the relative incidence of venereal disease; and on the relatively poorer group performance of Negro children and Negro draftees on intelligence and scholastic tests.

There is a lengthy literature dealing with the possible or probable sources of inflation in Negro crime statistics, whether gathered at the point of arrest or at the point of conviction. Reasons will suggest themselves at once why both these rates would tend to be higher for Negroes irrespective of the actual frequency of crimes committed. But it seems reasonable to accept as factual an appreciable higher crime rate among Negroes. And the same is probably true of venereal disease statistics, although these are a good deal shakier in all respects.

But it is also well-known that crime and disease are closely correlated with economic status, with income, with cultural level: the higher these are, the less crime and disease. Among Negroes, disease and crime are largely confined to the low-income dwellers in urban slums—precisely as is the case with the white population. It is to be assumed that, as equality of opportunity becomes real for larger and larger segments of the Negro community, their proportionate contribution to our crime rates will progressively diminish.

Social and environmental factors similarly provide the best explanation for the contrast in Negro-white performance on intelligence tests. The existence of a substantial learned element in even the most skeletal tests is freely acknowledged by the scientists who devise them. No differences have yet appeared in any performance comparisons which could not be accounted for by differences in education, in family background and in motivation.

It is by now well-known that, in the very Army tests which first provided large-scale evidence of the racial discrepancy, northern Negroes did much better than southern Negroes; better, in fact, than some southern whites. This experience has since been repeated in many other situations.

The only completely acceptable, scientifically irreproachable statement which can now be made regarding the entire issue of inherent intellectual difference is that it is impossible to devise a test situation which would prove one contention or the other. And the chances are that this condition will not change, since nothing less would be required than comparison of Negro and white groups perfectly matched with respect to *all* the social and environmental factors which are known to have some effect on test performance.

In all truth, however, the foregoing misses the essential point, just as the segregationists miss the point when they raise the issue at all. For we are dealing at all time with *group* averages or *group* percentages. Whatever may be wrong with *some* Negroes, it is senseless to base our treatment of the others on it. As a matter of fact, the percentage of Negroes involved in crime is very small, just as is true of the population at large. The number of Negroes whose test scores fall at the average or higher is very large, despite the handicaps.

The rightness of the principle of equal treatment and the necessity of applying it would remain unaffected if there were only a single Negro child who met the standards of capacity, cleanliness and behavior which segregationist logic would impose for admission to the public school. But there are many, many more than that, in the smallest rural hamlet in the deepest South. The problem—and I would not pretend that it does not exist in some measure—is administrative and pedagogical, not one of principle.

I have often thought of the satisfaction which would come to the NAACP if it could turn its attention from the long struggle to establish the legal basis for equality of opportunity and devote its energies and resources to making sure that as many children as possible of *all* races met the simple standards of conduct and ability so essential to ultimate sound citizenship.

Finally, there has been developing for some months now a theory that we will somehow make more progress toward desegregation by doing nothing about it. It is urged that the NAACP, for example, rest on the legal victory it has won and leave the South alone for an indefinite "cooling off" period. After a while, presumably, ruffled spirits will settle, the moderates will have a chance to assert themselves and desegregation will proceed without tension and violence.

This is undeniably an attractive prospect, and if it were genuine, I can assure you that the NAACP would pull out the stops in its behalf. Unfortunately, none of the assumptions on which it rests is true.

The tension and turmoil in the South were not stirred up either by the NAACP's litigation or by the Supreme Court's decision. They are

the product of the defiant reaction to the decision and of the sanction, both overt and tacit, which has been given to the lawless elements, by those to whom they look for leadership. It is the nature of lawlessness that it feeds on itself; it is not responsive to appeasement and it will quickly occupy a vacuum left for it by the duly constituted authority. There is even a considerable body of opinion (to which I am not absolutely sure I would as yet subscribe) that there would have been little or no violence if the Court's order had been for instant and decisive compliance, leaving no time for the dissidents to form ranks and develop their present entrenched positions.

SOUTHERN MODERATES

No one can have greater sympathy for the position of the so-called southern "moderates" in this battle. But it is highly questionable whether their best interests would be served by a policy which abandoned the field to the extremists and deprived the moderates of the leverage afforded by a continuing effort to obtain compliance with law. This point is brilliantly advanced by Charles Black of the Yale Law School faculty, himself a Texan, in the October 21 issue of the *New Republic*. Mr. Black feels that it would be criminally tragic to end—or even to reduce—the efforts presently under way to implement the school decision. We have ourselves received a fairly sizeable correspondence from liberal Southerners to the same effect.

In the last analysis, there is nothing in the record to justify the belief that the South, left on its own, would somehow acquire the inner conviction and the accompanying dynamic to move toward the elimination of a segregated system. Virtually every step in this direction in the past thirty years was taken by means of the much-maligned "outside pressure"—chiefly litigation in the courts by the NAACP. Nor do I conceive of this as necessarily an indictment of Southerners: very few instances are known of a people's voluntarily choosing a distasteful course simply because it was the right one.

This is not to say that patience, tact and sympathetic understanding are not essential. They are, and it is our belief that we have sought to invoke them wherever we have been permitted to do so. Five days after the memorable decision day of May 17, 1954, the Chairman of our Board of Directors said, in a message to the NAACP regional conference in Atlanta: "It is important that calm reasonableness prevail, that the difficulties of adjustment be realized, and that, without any sacrifice of basic principles, the spirit of give and take characterize the discussions. Let it not be said of us that we took advantage of a sweeping victory to drive hard bargains or impose unnecessary hardships upon those responsible. God be with you in your deliberations."

It is in precisely that spirit that these remarks tonight have been directed.

THE *Rev. Cyrus A. Weaver (R), life membership chairman Florida State Church Committee, receives a check for $100 as a contribution to the work of the State Conference's Voters' Registration Drive, from Joseph Q. Stokes, commissioner of civil liberties, IBPEOW. The contribution was made on behalf of the Florida State Association of Elks. The $100 is the initial payment on a $1,000 pledge to aid in the state voter's registration drive underway in the state of Florida.*

GEORGETTE AMANTHA DENT, *23-month-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George C. Dent of Brooklyn, New York. Mr. and Mrs. Dent have been active for many years in NAACP work.*

DR. GEORGE SHELTON *of Dallas, Texas, hands over a $50 check as payment on his NAACP life membership to Edwin Washington (R), NAACP field secretary for the southwest region.*

RECOMMENDED READING ON INTEGRATION AND ALLIED SUBJECTS

In the Magazines

Francis L. Broderick. "The Tragedy of W. E. B. Du Bois," *The Progressive*, February 1958.

"'Little Rock' Bills Urged Before 5 Legislatures," *Southern School News*, February 1958.

Agnes E. Meyer. "Race and the Schools: A Crisis North and South," *The Atlantic*, January 1958.

Melvin Richter. "A Debate on Race: The Tocqueville-Gobineau Correspondence," *Commentary*, February 1958.

Albert N. Votaw. "Hillbillies Invade Chicago," *Harper's Magazine*, February 1958.

Roy Wilkins. "Integration Must Move," *The Atlantic*, March 1958.

"What the Negro Wants Now." Current needs of the Negro as listed in an interview with Thurgood Marshall. *Ebony*, March 1958.

Books

Harry S. Ashmore. An Epitaph for Dixie (Norton).

Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely. Neither Black Nor White (Rinehart).

Dorothy Sterling with Donald Gross. Tender Warriors (Hill and Wang).

REVEREND DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING *of Montgomery, Alabama, views a bronze plaque bearing the names of all NAACP life members in the Association's national office in New York City. Pointing to a name of special interest is Roy Wilkins (L), NAACP executive secretary. Dr. King had just presented to Mr. Wilkins a $1,000 check for NAACP life memberships for himself and the Montgomery Improvement Association. The presentation was made on January 10.*

Photo by Cecil Layne

■ **A penetrating discussion of the economic loss generated by discrimination**

Economic Effects of Racial Discrimination

By James O'Connor

WHILE the socio-historical origins and psychological effects of racial discrimination have received a good deal of attention during the past decade and are, in fact, fairly well understood, the economic consequences of discrimination in the market place (in the labor market, in housing, etc.) have been all but ignored. One reason for this gap in our knowledge can be traced to the nature of economic theory as it is taught and practiced in the universities.

Economic theory by and large is couched in terms of pecuniary motivation and its development has seldom made use of assumptions which allow for irrational or nonrational behavior. Adam Smith's "economic man", a creature discredited years ago, still stands in the center of much economic analysis, dressed more tastefully perhaps, but firmly holding his ground against the implied assaults of the psychologists and sociologists.

Professor Gary Becker of Columbia University, in a provocative new book, *The Economics of Discrimination**, succeeds in bridging a large part of this gap. He not only develops several concepts of nonmonetary market behavior, but also manages to apply these concepts quantitatively to the discrimination which, sometimes subtly but often sanctioned by law, pervades a large portion of market relationships in the United States. For this reason, the book is at once unique and important.

A few terse statistics from the 1950 Census of Population point up the position of the Negro in the Ameri-

JAMES O'CONNOR *is a graduate student working for his Ph.D. in economics at Columbia University.*

* Gary Becker: The Economics of Discrimination. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957. X+137pp. $3.50.

can economy. While Negroes constitute but 10 per cent of the total population, they fill about 33 per cent of the domestic jobs and make up approximately 17 per cent of the agricultural labor force. Of over six and a half million non-whites receiving some income in 1949, almost three and a half million, or 52 per cent had an annual income of less than $1,000, and the income of more two million fell below $500.

Many casual students of the problem have concluded from such data as the above that, given the complete absence of discrimination in what is an essentially competitive economy, only 10 per cent of the domestics would be Negroes, and that the average annual income of Negroes and whites would tend to be the same. One of Becker's main contributions is to show that such conclusions are erroneous.

KEY RELATIONSHIP

The key relationship is the *relative per capita capital holdings* of Negroes and whites. Becker estimates that if racial prejudice (or what he calls "tastes for discrimination") were wholly absent from market relationships, Negro per capita income could rise to no more than two-thirds that of white income; that if discrimination was complete (that is, if the two races had no market dealings whatsoever with one another), Negro income would fall to about 40 per cent of white income; and that at the moment the proportion of Negro to white incomes is approximately 57 per cent. This kind of results are inescapable in a capitalistic economy characterized by a substantial degree of competition (the economy of the United States), because whites have a great deal more capital per capita than Negroes. This is true not only for tangible capital, factories and machinery, for example, but also for the substantial amounts of intangible capital invested in individuals themselves via education and on-the-job training.

Becker also shows by an ingenious and rather difficult application of economic theory that while market discrimination reduces the income of white capitalists as well as Negro labor, it increases the income of white labor and Negro capitalists. Negro capitalists are better off because they do not have to compete with white capitalists for relatively efficient Negro labor who are discriminated against by the latter. As a result, the commonly held view that the difference between white and Negro wage rates accrues to white capitalists as extra profit must be rejected for this more sophisticated doctrine. Although the loss to white capital is small compared to that imposed upon Negro labor, it is a net loss nevertheless and may explain the not uncommon paradox of southern trade union locals attempting to prevent the hiring and training of Negroes in skilled jobs despite the objections of their white employers. On the other hand, this loss may be interpreted as the price white employers are willing to pay to indulge their prejudices. Becker also argues persuasively in a corollary to his theory that the effect of any economic retaliation by Negroes, such as a "Buy Negro" campaign, is bound to be adverse to the

interests of Negro labor. Thus, Garvey's UNIA is seen in this light to be indefensible from the economic point of view of the majority of Negroes.

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

Becker's analysis seems to be sound in all but one respect. By neglecting one important dimension of the employment problem his conclusions take on somewhat more generality than is warranted. Becker constructs his argument on the assumption of perfect substitutability of white and Negro labor. This is a legitimate procedure if the differential between per capita capital holding of Negroes and whites is treated separately (as Becker does) and if Negroes and whites are otherwise assumed to be on the average efficient, strong, etc. But Becker neglects the fact that there are other determinants of output beside individual effort; that the capacity to perform often consists of the capacity to obtain cooperation on the job.

As the labor economist E. W. Bakke has pointed out, workers are normally welded together into a functioning team by what he calls "bonds of organization." They are partners in the production process itself; they direct and are directed by others; they both give and receive information and are the agents of a system of rewards and penalities which is determined by both employer and union. In this kind of setting, no amount of individual skill or strength will compensate for a lack of cooperation. As a result, while discrimination may substitute inferior or superior workmen, total output may increase if sources of personal friction are removed. This is, of course, a short-run "advantage" only, but in a world in which the horizons of businessmen are narrow, it may be a crucial factor.

How the economic loss that is generated by discrimination can be averted is the important and urgent question. It is, of course, an exceeding complex one. There are, according to Becker, at least two factors involved which, over a period of time, may result in a more extensive economic loss for Negroes. First of all, he shows theoretically, and empirically, that the growth of monopoly, unaccompanied by government regulation, tends to increase market discrimination. Although there has been a good deal of debate among economists as to the actual degree of competition in the United States, most empirical studies show that the economy today is as competitive as it was two or three decades ago.

Secondly, Becker argues that, given the unfavorable distribution of capital between whites and Negroes, the long-run tendency for production to become more capital-intensive (that is, an increasing amount of capital invesment per worker) will result in the weakening of the Negro's position. Although this conclusion is not debatable on narrow theoretical grounds, it loses much of its force when the process of industrialization is placed in the context of total social activity. For industrialization by its nature destroys the basis for the old relationships between social classes. Due to the decline of the cotton industry (acreage under cul-

tivation fell over 50 per cent during the two decades of the 30's and 40's), as well as its continued mechanization, the cropper system is in the process, however, slow, of obsolescence. And if the future of southern Negroes is no longer wholly determined by the structure and course of the cotton industry, the destruction of the remnants of the caste system in American is surely in sight.

Thus, industrialization means above all urbanization and the strengthening of a free trade union movement, as well as the breakdown of the old economic framework which protected the exploiter from the consequences of a well-informed, centralized, and socially conscious working force. The transition from a quasi-feudalism to a free market, a direct consequence of the decline of cotton and further industrialization, is bound to have significant postive effects on the absolute economic status of Negroes, and may also increase *their* share of the national income pie.

DISCRIMINATION LOSSES

The mechanics of the two variables discussed above operate for the most part independently of government policy. But there are in Becker's system at least three other important factors which, because they are susceptible to manipulation by public and private groups, may be called "policy variables."

In the first place, Becker deduces that the loss from discrimination would be reduced if the proportion of Negro to white capital was improved. Because investment in human capital is included as a part of total capital, it is at once apparent that in so far as school desegregation improves the quality of Negro education, Negro capital holdings per capita will increase relative to those of whites. However, it would be misleading to conclude, according to Becker, that this portends a net gain in the short-run for Negroes, for he shows that tastes for discrimination, as reflected in market relationships, increase as Negroes acquire more education and reach higher rungs of the occupational ladder. On balance, though, the results must surely be favorable in the long-run.

Secondly, the federal as well as some state governments have contributed to the reduction of discrimination in the market place. Becker, of course, does not take on the job of explaining the great about-face by the national government in 1941. That would have taken him well beyond the scope of his book. But he does construct a modest model showing how it is possible for minority (Negro) views on race relations to become government policy. The model is admittedly, very artificial, and requires at least two quite arbitrary assumptions.

The question of the government's role in combatting or contributing to discrimination in the market is an intriguing one, however. Certainly, since the first FEPC in 1941, the federal government has by and large been a powerful influence toward non-discriminatory treatment, both in and out of government service. And I think we can expect this influence to grow with time. I would claim this, not on the basis of predictions from Becker's model, but

on the grounds that it is becoming increasingly evident that the successful waging of the Cold War requires putting aside of all loyalties and alignments (even to the god "white supremacy") in favor of more nearly complete submission to the national state. In a world characterized by the most intense kind of political and economic competition between the two dominating influences, the preservation and extension of the national state becomes important enough to require the destruction of anything which tends to impair the efficiency of the system. And discrimination, in so far as it promotes economic loss in the market, does threaten the efficiency of the system. As a result, the government is obligated to be rid of it, if the former is to find as many ways as possible to preserve itself.

TRADE UNION DISCRIMINATION

A third "policy variable" is the degree of discrimination originating from the trade unions. Although as early as 1883 the Knights of Labor accepted colored members and, soon after the turn of the century, the IWW was in the business of actively organizing Negroes, it has not been until comparatively recently that many barriers to equal treatment have been lowered. The old CIO unions have by and large been in advance of many of the AFL organizations. By the 50's, 10 per cent of the CIO's five million members were Negroes, while at the same time the larger AFL had little more than 100,000. Of course, some of this discrepancy was due to the preponderance of skilled workers in the AFL. However, in the past decade tremendous strides have been made toward greater equality. The educational work of the AFL-CIO, the growing number of state and local FEPC laws, and the work of such militant labor leaders as A. Phillip Randolph have all contributed to this advance. There is, however, a great disparity between stated official national policy of AFL-CIO and the day to day operation of local unions in relation to the Negro worker.

Why have unions discriminated in the past, and why do many in the South still maintain segregated locals, or consign colored members to low ranking jobs without the right to advance under seniority rules, or refuse them admission altogether? Becker's analysis provides one of the answers: discrimination in a competitive economy is simply economically advantageous to white labor. Discrimination decreases the supply of skilled labor and as a result forces wage rates to levels higher than would have been otherwise enjoyed. But workers join unions for reasons other than economic advantage: they seek among other things to gain the society and respect of others. Thus, in a segregated community, a "functional" trade union must itself be jim crow for these phsychological advantages to become realities. But, however strong the motivations for discrimination, it is apparent that barriers to equal treatment are falling away within the unions. As a result, all three "policy variables" can be thought of as moving in the right direction, chipping away at the wall of discrimination which still keeps

too many people out of too many markets.

TASTES FOR DISCRIMINATION

Finally, we must add to the two "independent" variables and the three "policy variables," a sixth variable, prejudice itself. How these variables move and interact largely determines the degree of social loss generated by market discrimination. It is clear that they are not mutually independent and can only artificially be isolated for separate inspection. For example, government policy affects not only the degree of discrimination in government itself, but also the rate of school integration (and thus the proportion of white to Negro capital), the extent of monopoly, and the extent of trade union discrimination. The rate of monopoly growth affects the speed at which unions grow, and probably, indirectly, discrimination by unions. And so on.

How then is it possible to make a judgement as to whether or not the situation is improving? Becker offers the estimate that market discrimination over time has been just about constant (tastes for discrimination may be declining, according to Becker, but if so, this has been offset by other changes in the opposite direction). Becker is not the first to arrive at this conclusion. Dewey, for one, has made the same judgement. But Becker has offered more convincing evidence than other students of the problem.

Comparing Negro and white occupational status, he shows that the proportion of Negroes in unskilled jobs (to the total number of employed Negroes) is declining and that the proportion in skilled occupations is rising. But over the same period of time the same thing is true for whites. Therefore, although the absolute position of Negroes has improved, their occupational status relative to whites has remained stable. Even though Becker's evidence is convincing, I would hesitate to draw from it any generalized statement of the Negro's position in the U.S. economy. Given the requirements of the Cold War and the decline of cotton and the cropper system, it may very well be that the Negro's share has and is increasing in the direction of greater equality.

The Economics of Discrimination is a valuable contribution to what has been a little understood area. It is full of challenging suggestions for further research, and its empirical work is of the most imaginative kind. But the book's main strength is its chief shortcoming. This is essentially a book in economic analysis and as such is completely successful. And although Becker attempts no more, the fact that economics is only one dimension of a multi-dimensional social science leads one to hope that additional research in both this and related areas will be encouraged. Further and broader study may well lend a greater sense of firmness and realism to Becker's conclusions.

Looking and Listening . . .

HILLBILLIES IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO'S toughest integration problem happens to involve whites, hillbillies, and not Negroes.

Albert N. Votaw executive director of the Uptown Chicago Commission, writes in *Harper's Magazine* (February, 1958) on "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago." He says:

A pathetic though bumptious minority of 70,000 newcomers among Chicago's motley population of four million is disturbing the city's peace these days and incidentally proving to everybody who will listen that integration problems often having nothing to do with race, language, or creed. These are Chicago's share of the hundreds of thousands of Southern 'Hillbillies' who have been imported during and since World War II to offset labor shortages in the industrial centers of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois.

'In my opinion they are worse than the colored,' said a police captain. 'They are vicious and knife-happy. They are involved in 75 per cent of our arrests in this district.'

'I can't say this publicly, but you'll never improve the neighborhood until you get rid of them,' commented a municipal court judge.

'I've been in this business fifteen years,' remarked the manager of a large apartment hotel, 'but this is the first time I've had to carry a blackjack in the halls of my own building.'

These farmers, miners, and mechanics from the mountains and meadows of the mid-South—with the fecund wives and numerous children—are, in a sense, the prototype of what the 'superior' American should be, white Protestants of early American, Anglo-Saxon stock; but on the streets of Chicago they seem to be the American dream gone berserk. This may be the reason why their neighbors often find them more obnoxious than the Negroes or the earlier foreign immigrants whose obvious differences from the American stereotype made them easy to despise. Clannish, proud, disorderly, untamed to urban ways, these country cousins confound all notions of racial, religious, and cultural purity. . . .

The Southerners bring along suspicion of the authorities—landlords, storekeepers, bosses, police, principals, and awesome church people. Often, in Chicago these authorities belong to groups whom the Southerners consider inferior—foreigners, Catholics, colored people—so the suspicion is reinforced by prejudice. But the most conspicuous reason why the Southerners look all wrong in the city setting is the dom-

DR. Guy O. Saulsberry softening up his audience for a freedom fund pitch at the Inkster, Michigan, branch's first anniversary banquet. Michigan Supreme Court justice Thomas J. Kavannaugh addresses the guests and members at the first anniversary banquet. At bottom are members of the branch executive committee installed during the banquet.

estic habits they bring from small backwoods communities.

Settling in deteriorating neighborhoods where they can stick with their own kind, they live as much as they can the way they lived back home. Often removing window screens, they sit half-dressed where it is cooler, and dispose of garbage the quickest way. Their own dress is casual and their children's worse. Their housekeeping is easy to the point of disorder, and they congregate in the evening on front porches and steps, where they find time for the sort of motionless relaxation that infuriates bustling city people. . . .

An added complication in the difficulties which keep the newcomers both separate and inferior in the eyes of city residents and authorities is their rock-hard clannishness. Settling together, keeping in touch with home by interminable telephoning and frequent trips, they isolate themselves by intent.

In the long run, the Southern whites will probably make their own compromise with city ways. But this is no answer for the very real problems of today, and city authorities have been reluctant to recognize that they require special attention.

RACE RELATIONS

L. H. FOSTER, president of Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, says in the forty-fourth annual report to the American people on developments in racial relations in the South, 1957, that:

A survey of legal and group action during the year leads to the conclusion that race relations in the Southern States are in a more unsettled and disturbed status than a year ago. The divergent segregationist and desegregationist points of view are held more resolutely now than in the recent past. There is urgent need for realistic and constructive communication on the southern scene, if serious difficulties are to be avoided in the near future.

Several factors operate currently to affect the state of race relations in the South: Segregationists have at their command substantial control of the economy, extensive authority in political affairs, and considerable influence on the publication policies of most media of mass communication. There is, too, the momentum of decades of operation of these sources in behalf of a segregated society. Desegregationists, on the other hand, have the support of an awakened and expressed national concern for the welfare of all the American people. They also have the urgent pressures for freedom on the international front, and the widely proclaimed doctrine of human brotherhood.

One obstacle to favorable race relations is the misinformation and misinterpretation about the national welware. Public officials representing the South rarely make it clear in their talks or writings that America's welfare depends critically upon the strength of democracy at home. These spokesmen often express the opposite opinion, saying in effect that the international impact of poor race relations in America is inconsequential. . . .

The country generally seems to recognize that the quality of race relations in the United States is no longer exclusively a southern or a northern concern. It even goes beyond being a national concern. Increasingly, the American public is recognizing that people's throughout the world question America's hope and competence to lead a free world if one-tenth of its own people do not enjoy the freedoms it seeks to promote abroad.

A second obstacle is the substantial absence of communication between whites and Negroes. This is deplored by many spokesmen with rarely a constructive suggestion for interchange of ideas or opinions in terms of current realities.

Another factor contributing to unfavorable race relations is the almost complete absence of joint effort or program by the total citizenry in any southern community to promote the community welfare. These mutual interests of citizens—such as expansion of industry, community beautification, better utility services, better welfare services, or improved recreation—could be harnessed for positive action. The individuals involved in cooperative work for such useful purposes would contribute indirectly but substantially to better community race relations. . . .

RACIAL VIOLENCE

ALMOST all recent instances of racial violence could have been avoided by proper action by law enforcement authorities, according to Alexander F. Miller, national community service director of the Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Mob action in any tension-ridden community can be prevented by "a fearless police chief, backed by a courageous mayor, backed by a resolute judge," Mr. Miller declares in an article in the current issue of The ADL Bulletin.

Citing leading police authorities, he stressed the following basic procedure for avoiding shows of mob violence:

Allow no more than three persons to congregate within a mile of the school or house which is the focus of activity or crisis.

During the time that tension exists, let the police enforce the simple rule of "keep 'em moving." Allow no crowd to collect on any public property within the city limits without a proper permit. . . .

Prevent parades or caravans from using public thoroughfares without a permit.

"These are simple and elementary rules," Mr. Miller said, "but if you consider most recent cases of mob action, you will see that these basic steps have been largely ignored."

He said that Americans have generally avoided violence "when the authority of the law has been exercised quickly and vigorously. . . . If Governor Faubus of Arkansas had shown, by word or deed, that he was in any way opposed to a show of violence in Little Rock, it is doubtful that the beatings and mob action there would have taken place."

"Not the least tragic aspect of the violence of the past decade," Mr. Miller said, "is the fact that none of it—or virtually none of it—need have happened. Few Americans, no matter what their views on the morality or justice of segregation, seek or welcome violence and a breakdown of law and order."

He pointed out that the violence we have witnessed—"in Clinton, Baltimore, Levittown, Nashville and Little Rock"—is usually a reaction on the part "of the die-hards and disgruntled, desperately fighting a losing battle."

These incidents of violence have witnessed a disconcertingly similar pattern, he noted. "A crowd gathers near the house or school which is being desegregated. The crowd consists of diverse elements: segregationists, teenagers and the curious. The police treat the crowd with tolerance, apparently indifferent to the jeers, cat-calls, curses, even brickbats. The only police requirement seems to be that the crowd stay behind certain rather loosely defined lines. . . ."

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Give it yo

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Because the NAACP has spearheaded the fight f
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CALVIN BANKS, *NAACP field secretary for region 2, installs the Rev. Mr. Eugene L. Avery, Church of the Incarnation, as president of the Jersey City, New Jersey, branch of the NAACP.*

MEMO

MARCH 1958

from the desk of the Executive Secretary

Registration and voting campaign is the big news of 1958. Drive to increase number of Negro voters, particularly in South, already is influencing political discussion.

All of House and one-third of Senate will be elected next November. Parties are fighting for position for the Big Show of 1960 when White House will be the prize.

Negro vote could easily affect Congressional races this year, but will certainly have impact on 1960 result.

In meantime, contests for Governor are very important because the Governor controls his party's state delegation to national convention where platform is adopted as well as candidates named.

Those who get busy now in registration campaign will be building power for bargaining. It will be too late if action is delayed until 1960 campaign time.

An increase of 100,000 in a state registration packs more power than 200,000 speeches or petitions.

Advance work, especially in states and in form of fresh registrations, pays dividends. Remember first uncertainty of Stevenson 1956 campaign started with California state convention in Fresno, seven months before national convention, nine months before election day. State delegate power was shaped up long before that.

NAACP drive for registration will use state organizations and branches under overall committee headed by Kelly M. Alexander of Charlotte, North Carolina, State President and Member National Board of Directors.

Southwide work will be directed by John M. Brooks of Richmond, Virginia, who has been building good voter registration campaign in Virginia since last spring as staff member of Virginia NAACP Conference.

Savannah, Georgia, campaign was set up by Brooks in two meetings during February, with enthusiasm high.

North Carolina and Florida campaigns are under way. State President Lowry in Florida has set up county units and State Secretary Robert Saunders is pushing effort.

Although registration campaign will be part of all NAACP local and state programs, effort will be concentrated in selected cities of six states: Arkansas, Louisiana, North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

In South Carolina a statewide re-registration campaign (for all voters) is in progress and to date Negro citizens have made good record in re-registering. Daily newspapers in Charleston and Columbia have urged white voters to register, pointing out what Negroes are doing.

Southern politicians have an eye on drive. Georgia is proposing new requirements for registration, including a "registration fee" (the state abolished the poll tax some years ago).

Virginia has proposed strict enforcement of the state constitution which requires only that a blank sheet of paper be given registrant and no help offered him in filling it out. Big cities like Richmond have been ignoring this, giving applicants a printed blank to be filled out.

But protest has come from leading Richmond daily paper, the News-Leader. In February 4 editorial it says:

"[This bill] is being interpreted as a bill to keep so many Negroes from voting . . . there can be no question of the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment . . . that no citizen shall be discriminated against in exercising his right to vote . . . These Negro citizens have available to coach them . . . the NAACP . . . It requires little imagination to foresee NAACP classes in which prospective registrants would be drilled on blank tablets until they were letter perfect . . . The end result . . . might be to hold down not only the number of new Negro voters, but to hold down even more severely the number of new white voters."

This underlines importance of NAACP campaign and possible far-reaching effects. Quiet, continuous work

in precincts and blocks on grass roots level can change present picture.

Job is big and complicated. Detailed organization is required. Steady work by many committees and volunteers is necessary, month in, month out. NAACP welcomes cooperation of all groups, has its Church Secretary on Advisory Council of Reverend M. L. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to smooth and dovetail operations.

North will not be neglected. Big cities in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and California can swing the presidential electoral vote of their states.

Already NAACP Los Angeles branch is at work in five Assembly districts to increase voter registration.

For nearly a year Baltimore, Maryland, NAACP branch under leadership of President Lillie M. Jackson, has worked through churches in steady, tightly organized campaign which has placed average of 1,000 new registrants each month on voting rolls.

NAACP branch legislative committees or special voter registration committees invite churches, labor unions, voters leagues, social clubs and fraternal orders to join campaign.

See your local NAACP branch or write the National Office, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

NAACP budget for 1958 is biggest in history with large deficit anticipated on account of persecution of Association in South and the cost of registration and voting campaign.

Defense of NAACP in courts from attacks in form of special anti-NAACP laws is requiring time of lawyers and money. In 1957 this item was $32,000. This year's estimate is $35,000.

Already in 1958 appeal in the Alabama case has been argued before U. S. Supreme Court with opinion expected later this spring. This is a key case, but if won in Supreme Court will mean further contest over new regulations sure to be attempted by Alabama.

Favorable decision against anti-NAACP laws in Virginia has been won in three-judge Federal court, but Virginia will appeal to Supreme Court.

Trial in Arkansas courts of Mrs. L. C. Bates, State President, in test of city ordinance requiring the filing of membership lists was held February 11. NAACP lost, as was expected, and appeal will now go to Arkansas Supreme Court. More Arkansas cases are in the cards.

Florida has launched a new investigation of NAACP by a committee of the legislature designed to (a) smear Association as Communist and (b) secure records of branches in state, including membership lists.

If Alabama case is won and if Virginia case is finally won, it may take care of the membership list question wherever it may arise, but states will probably try other restrictions which will have to be challenged in courts.

The merry-go-round keeps twirling and every turn costs money.

But freedom always has cost money and time and sacrifice.

All NAACP members, all friends, all contributors, are asked to dig deeper in 1958 to supply the funds to keep the NAACP in there fighting.

We must meet the court costs because we must stay alive.

We must finance the voter registration campaign because its success could ease the pressure on all issues and bring victory closer.

Life Memberships are a good way to underwrite freedom. Branches should solicit these $500 memberships from individuals, clubs, churches and other organizations, either in full, or in $100 or $50 annual installments. A share goes to the Branch for soliciting these.

Many churches of various denominations over the nation have bought or are now buying NAACP Life Memberships. Is your church among them?

See you in Cleveland, Ohio, July 7-13 for the 49th annual convention of the NAACP. And don't forget the Golden Anniversary Convention in New York City in July, 1959.

Calvin Banks, NAACP field secretary, installs Franck Lawrence, president; Robert Holliday, vice-president; and Ronald Lawrence, Crisis chairman; as officers in the Jersey City, N. J., branch of the NAACP.

Mrs. Beatrice Wood, Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, and Mrs. Dorothy Freidlich (L), Delta Sigma Theta sorority, make initial payments on NAACP life memberships for their sororities to the Hartford, Connecticut, branch.

Mrs. Tarea Hall Pittman, NAACP field secretary, and Lester Bailey (R), California state executive secretary, receive NAACP life membership plaques from George Kennedy, president of the northern California area, as gifts for their services to the Association.

Editorial

THE ORDEAL OF MINNIE JEAN BROWN

IF ANYTHING more humiliating to the prestige of Little Rock—and America—than the Minnie Jean Brown ordeal has occurred recently *The Crisis* is not aware of it. Why was this poor 16-year-old girl persecuted and ridiculed and nagged? Because she is Negro and wants the best education Little Rock can offer. Both the Constitution and the United States Supreme Court assure her of this right as an American citizen. She exercised it. What happened? Some of her hooligan classmates pounced on her like a wolf pack. Who is Minnie Jean Brown?

Minnie Jean Brown is tall and stocky—the largest of the nine Negro students enrolled at the Little Rock Central High School. She is communicative, friendly, and good natured. She wants to major in English, but has expressed a desire to do civic work. Miss Brown sings well and likes sports and dancing. She is the eldest of four children.

MR. BROWN, who is a painting and building contractor, has found it increasingly difficult to obtain work since it has become general knowledge that he is the father of one of the first nine Negro students at Central High. Whether she wants to or not, Miss Brown mirrors her feelings in her face. Without giving vent to verbal or physical reaction to a situation, her friends and foes alike have more than slight notion of her reactions on any given subject. Few will question that she has been under greater pressure than any other Negro student at Central High. None will question that the incidents in which she has been involved have been more unusual and spectacular.

Here is a chronology of the more spectacular incidents. On October 2, 1957, Minnie Jean and Melba Pattillo (another Negro student) were roughed up by a number of unidentified boys and girls in the corridors as they ended their second class for the day. They were jeered and verbally abused. One girl deliberately ran into Minnie Jean, and a group of boys formed a line to block her entrance to her classroom.

On November 26, 1957, Minnie Jean was kicked by a boy. She was going to her seat at a "pep" assembly. No disciplinary action was taken against the boy.

ON DECEMBER 11, 1957, Minnie Jean was threatened by a student named Jimmie Butler. He declared: "I'll chase you down the hall and kick all your teeth out the next time you do what you did yesterday afternoon." The boy alleged that she had made insulting gestures at him. Minnie Jean declared that she did not remember ever seeing him before. Although the boy was taken to the principal's office, no disciplinary action was taken against him.

On December 17, 1957, after repeated provocation by blocking her path as she attempted to reach a table in the cafeteria, Minnie Jean dropped her tray and spilled the contents upon two boys. She was suspended for six days.

On January 16, 1958, a bowl of hot soup was thrown on Minnie Jean by a student whose name is David Sontag. The reason given for his action was that he remembered that Minnie Jean had spilled chili on two white boys. Sontag was suspended for three days.

ON JANUARY 27, 1958, Minnie Jean was called a "nigger looking bitch" by a student named James Cole who then refused to obey the guard's order to report to the principal's office. An incident might have occurred between the guard and this student had not a teacher intervened and prevailed upon Cole to report to the principal. Because this boy had been involved in three integration incidents previously, his father was called in by the principal, and after a brief conference both were permitted to leave the principal's office. No disciplinary action was taken against Cole.

On January 29, 1958, Minnie Jean was kicked by one Richard Boehler as she was leaving the school grounds to join her mother who had come to pick her up. Boehler, who said he kicked her on a dare, had been suspended from the school earlier in the day in connection with an incident unrelated to integration. His suspension was extended as a result of this incident. Mrs. Brown attempted to file charges against this boy, but the prosecuting attorney refused to issue a warrant for his arrest.

ON FEBRUARY 3, 1958, Minnie Jean was hit in the back with a rock thrown by an unidentified student. This incident occured on the first day that she returned to school after having been kicked out on January 29.

On February 6, 1958, Minnie Jean was suspended from school with the recommendation for her expulsion for the rest of the year. This action was taken after Minnie Jean had answered a white girl who had followed her from the first to the third floor calling her a "nigger bitch."

Minnie Jean has explained the different forms of harassment to which she and other students were subjected:

"Any day upon entrance to the school I would be welcomed with a lotion or water shower from the second floor stairway. Walking down the halls I was insulted countless times. When I entered the classrooms, I heard phrases like 'Here comes that nigger, Minnie Jean!' I was kicked, hit with rocks and candy, smeared with ink, souped in the cafeteria, and scores of other things could, and usually did, happen to me in the course of a day."

The New Lincoln School, West 110th Street, New York City, has done the decent thing by accepting Minnie Jean as a student. She has accepted a $1,050 scholarship to the school offered her by the school's founding director, Dr. John J. Brooks. This is the other face of America.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

SCHOOL INVESTIGATION

AN NAACP resolution, adopted at the February 10 board meeting, charges that the Brooklyn, N. Y., grand jury investigation of the public schools "has been used by advocates of segregation as a justification of an archaic pattern of education and as an argument against compliance with the United States Supreme Court decision banning segregation in public education." The resolution also "condemns any type of investigation which merely furnishes grist for the propaganda mills of those whose prime purpose is to discredit integration in public education."

The complete text of the resolution follows:

THE board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is distressed by the manner in which the grand jury investigating the public schools of Brooklyn has exploited the natural concern of the people of this city for the welfare of their children. What purported to be an investigation of the schools has turned out to be an attack upon the city's entire educational system with thinly veiled overtones of racial prejudice.

Under the impact of this attack a distinguished educator has been driven to end his life and the school board intimidated into an ill-considered mass purge of alleged trouble-makers without prior hearing for each individual case. The NAACP is as concerned as the Board of Education that the innocent be protected from the violent; but it is also concerned that each accused be granted the traditional American right to a fair hearing before being penalized. The summary suspension of alleged trouble-makers is not only unfair but also in violation of the state law. Moreover, no arrangements have been made for their supervision and instruction.

Any evidence of violence in our schools should be cause for grave concern. But the publicity focused upon violence perpetrated by less than one per cent of nearly 1,000,000 students—in some instances by non-students—has given a false picture of New York's public schools throughout the nation.

We urge our city administration to meet this situation without hysteria or prejudice in the interest of the 99 per cent of the school population sincerely seeking an education.

But we condemn any type of investigation which merely furnishes grist for the propaganda mills of those whose prime purpose is to discredit integration in education. The present grand jury probe has been used by advocates of segregation as a justification of an archaic pattern of education and as an argument against compliance with the United States Supreme Court decision banning segregation in our public schools.

Pierce Studio

OFFICERS *and newly elected board members of Columbus, Ohio, branch. Seated, from L, are Lloyd Squaer, first vice-president; Rev. L. L. Dickerson, president; Mrs. Esther Ewald, assistant secretary; Ruth Martin, secretary; Mary Jane Patterson, second vice-president; Barbee Durham, executive secretary; and Dr. Owen Walker, treasurer. New executive board members, standing, from L, are Eugene Walker, Dr. Horace English, Calvin Patterson, Atty. Franklin Whittaker, Charles MacLennan, James Goldston, Mrs. Dorothy Kirschbaum, Harland Randolph, and Russell Jones. Dr. Thomas Turner was not present when picture was taken.*

We offer our cooperation in any comprehensive plan to maintain our schools in their primary function of education.

UNION AIDS NAACP

CHECKS of $1,000 each were presented in January to the NAACP and the Scholarship Fund for the nine Negro students at the recently integrated Central High School at Little Rock, Arkansas, by the Amalgated Machine Instrument and Metal Local Union #485, IUE, AFL-CIO.

Receiving the contributions at the local's annual conference in New York City at Manhattan Center on January 22 were Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, NAACP, and Clarence A. Laws, field secretary, assigned to work in Little Rock with Mrs. L. C. Bates, Arkansas State NAACP president.

Mr. Wilkins commended the labor organization on its continuing effort for human betterment and understanding and said that working with organized labor was "one of the Association's most cherished traditions."

SOME *of the participants in the third annual beauty contest of the Bridgeport-Stratfort, Connecticut, branch held for the benefit of the NAACP freedom fund. Mildres Childs, 16 (center), was named "Miss NAACP." Runnerups are Samantha McGjee, 18 (L) and Geraldine Sells, 18, second.*

Continuing difficulty at the Little Rock High School was reported by Mr. Laws who listed the following reasons for the worsening situation:

- Continuing agitation by Governor Orval Faubus and other politicians;
- Failure of federal and local law enforcement agencies to prosecute persons involved in mob violence at the school in September;
- Failure of school officials to enunciate a firm, positive policy to cope with racial incidents; and

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN *(L), NAACP president, greets former Senator Herbert Lehman, a member of the NAACP board of directors, at the Associations annual meeting in January in New York City. In the background is Mrs. L. C. Bates of Little Rock Arkansas, president of the Arkansas State NAACP and a leader in the Little Rock school integration fight.*

• Failure of so-called responsible citizens to take a strong stand for law and order in Little Rock.

The guest speaker was James B. Carey, president of IUE.

Others on the program included the Right Rev. John F. Monaghan and Clifford Cameron, business manager of the local.

Charles Fay, president of Local 485 was master of ceremonies.

LESS SEGREGATION IN NORTH

THE assertion of a Southern segregationists that "segregation is as rampant in the North as it is in the South" is false, Roy Wilkins warned in a speech delivered on February 1 in Boston, Massachusetts, at the tenth

E. McDonald

THE *Gamma Xi Zeta chapter of Zeta Phi Beta sorority, New Rochelle, New York, is proving that one way to obtain a life membership in the NAACP is to sponsor seasonal social affairs. Mrs. Frank Turner (R) is presenting an NAACP life membership to Marion Stewart of the NAACP national office as Mrs. Evelyn Hunt (L) and Rev. DeWitt Bullock, president of the New Rochelle branch, look on.*

annual Roosevelt Day dinner of the Massachusetts chapter of Americans for Democratic Action.

Mr. Wilkins also warned that the nation cannot afford to think in terms of a "cooling off" period in racial relations because such an interim would be used by segregationists to prepare new "barriers to desegregation."

Instead of a deliberate lag in civil rights work, he says, "we must continue to press for our objectives."

He called for passage of a "supplementary civil rights bill" at this session of Congress, and assumption by the two political parties of "their obligations to see that the legislative branch of government keeps pace with the judicial and executive branches."

On the question of the segregation situation in the South versus that in the North, Mr. Wilkins noted that "southern segregationists have charged that segregation in the North is as widespread as it is in the South."

"Indeed, the segregationists go further and assert, in effect, that since the North also indulges racial segregation, the joint practices form a pattern deemed to be desirable and workable by a majority of the country and thus should prevail as a national custom."

With the exception of housing, there is far less segregation in the North than in the South, in terms of both "nature" and "extent," Mr. Wilkins maintained. He made the following points:

• The "vast majority" of southern Negroes are prevented "by one device or another" from voting. This is not true in the North.

Cecil Layne

ATTENDING *the NAACP's annual dinner at the Belmont Plaza Hotel in New York City in January were (from L) Mr. and Mrs. Hittindra Malik of Bombay, India, and Dr. J. M. Tinsley of Richmond, Virginia, a member of the Association's board of directors. Mrs. Malik is the former Hope Spingarn, daughter of the late Dr. Joel and Mrs. Spingarn. Dr. Spingarn served as NAACP president from 1930 to 1939.*

Scott L. Henderson

AFTER *twenty-two years of service, Dr. J. M. Tinsley, Richmond, Virginia, now president emeritus, relinquishes his services as head of the Virginia State NAACP Conference. Newly elected conference president Dr. Philip Wyatt, Fredericksburg, is greeted by Dr. Tinsley as retiring president Dr. E. B. Henderson of Falls Church looks on.*

• White collar employment for Negroes in the South is almost entirely restricted to Negro-owned businesses, federal civil service, and teaching. The employment situation in the North is "a far cry" from this.

• The South enforces segregation in places of public accommodation, travel, and public recreation. If a northern Negro is refused admittance to a "public place" because of his race, "he can sue under state laws."

• School segregation is imposed by state law in many southern states, despite the Supreme Court decision holding such segregation to be unconstitutional. There are no such laws in the North, although many segregated schools exist because of segregated housing and "some gerrymandering of school districts." Northern Negro children, however, often find it possible

to transfer to schools outside the "solid ghettos" and they also can attend special schools. Further, Negro pupils in the North who live on the edge of an all-Negro neighborhood attend racially mixed schools.

LIFE MEMBER

THE Union Baptist Church of New York City became the second Baptist church in the state to take out a life membership in the Association as part of a campaign for NAACP life memberships being conducted by the Commission on Social Action of the Empire State Baptist Missionary Convention.

The social action unit seeks to have each of the 300 churches in New York affiliated with the Convention become life members of the NAACP.

The first such church to become an NAACP life member was the Friendship Baptist Church of New York, of which Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., is pastor.

Presentation of the Union Baptist Church check in payment of the $500 life membership was made by the Rev. Alfred Isaac, pastor of the church, to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. Accompanying the pastor were John L. Edmonds, president of the church's Brotherhood, the Rev. George Lawrence, secretary of the Commission on Social Action, and Russell P. Crawford, president of the New York City NAACP branch.

The Rev. Sandy F. Ray of New York is president of the Empire State Baptist Missionary Convention, which maintains headquarters in New York City. The Convention's Commission on Social Action is headed by Dr. Gardner Taylor of Brooklyn.

CLUB TWENTY-ONE *of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, an active supporter of the NAACP, recently gave the Association $180. Front row, from L, club members are Walter Parson, Dr. George Jones, Charles McClane, George Hooper (club president), Dr. H. T. Vernon, Anderson Robinson, Nelson Brooks; (2nd row): Melville Yancey, Jeffers Jackson, John Fields, Jr., Furman McAdams, Dr. Douglas Phillips, Biggs Smith, William Reeves, Audrea Howard, Horatio Leftwich, and James Rowland. Not shown are Dr. Harvey Reynolds, Dr. Paul Binford, Harold Hurst, and Sylvester Jackson.*

REGISTRATION AND VOTING

THE NAACP-sponsored voter registration drive in Florida was launched February 21-22 in Tampa with a two-day institute on political action. Leaders of the Association's forty-five branches in the state received instructions on how to conduct registration drives and how to get out the vote on the local level. In 1956 there were 150,000 registered Negro voters in the state, and the present campaign seeks to more than double this number by 1960.

One of the problems facing voters in Florida is the new registration law under which the names of many persons already registered are being purged from the rolls. In Hillsborough county, nearly half of the currently registered Negro voters will have to re-register. Similar conditions prevail in other counties.

In conducting the state-wide registration campaign, Robert Saunders, NAACP field secretary, is working in cooperation with the Florida Voters League. Plans have been formulated for the distribution of 100,000 pieces of literature on registration and voting.

The campaign in Florida is part of the Association's southwide drive to increase the number of Negro voters in the region to 3,000,000 by 1960.

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What the Branches Are Doing

Arizona: The YUMA branch has re-elected Raymond Robinson as president. Other elected officers are Zenobia Kelly, vice-president; Iva Taylor, secretary; Cleo Hollin, corresponding secretary; and Emma Featherstone, treasurer. Executive committee members are L. M. Kelly, membership; Mrs. Emma Featherstone, finance; Ted Hollin, press and publicity; Joe Johnson, labor and industry; Luther Lee, housing; A. L. Reed, church; and Mrs. Janice Pimper, fund raising.

On January 17 the Yuma branch and the Yuma Branch NAACP Credit Union held a joint annual meeting in the Woman's Clubhouse on the Mesa.

California: An installation and benefit banquet was held by the SAN DIEGO branch on February 4 in the Caribbean Room of El Cortez Hotel. Guests artists were Betty Hall Jones, piano and song; Ruth Banks, dramatic soprano; and Octavia Coleman, piano soloist.

Connecticut: Vasco D. Hale, 1957 campaign chairman of the HARTFORD branch, was applauded at the branch's annual meeting for his success in having the branch meet its regular membership quota and freedom fund contributions. The quota of 1,200 regular members was surpassed by 60 and the freedom fund quota of $2,000 was topped by some $1,300. Success of the campaign may be attributed to the support of many individuals and organizations.

"Because we believe that the time is overdue when Democrats in the North must take a firm, public, and active stand on the issue of civil rights, the Greenwich Democratic Women's Club gives $200 to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to be used wherever the need is greatest," declares a statement issued by the Greenwich Democratic Women's Club on January 23 announcing its contribution. Mrs. Alfred Baker Lewis, president of the club, presented the money to the NAACP through the Greenwich branch at a Lincoln's Birthday meeting on February 12, at the Julian Curtiss School Cafeteria, Milbank Avenue, Greenwich. Earl Brown, New York City councilman and an assistant editor of *Life*, spoke on "Civil Rights: North and South."

The contribution and statement were voted overwhelmingly at the

OFFICERS *of the Saginaw, Michigan, branch pictured, from L, front row, are Rev. R. B. Bradley, coordinator; Mrs. Bernice Barlow, financial secretary; C. McGlothlin, treasurer; Mrs. Lavania Saunders, secretary; James Ellis, Sr., president; Charles Perkins, second vice-president; Mrs. C. B. Wilson, membership chairman; Rev. Roosevelt Austin, fight for freedom fund; (second row): R. N. Barbour, public relations; Rev. R. B. Austin, chaplain; B. W. Falls, chairman board; Mrs. Catherine King, executive board; Mrs. Josephine Spurlock, chairman entertainment committee; T. P. Marsh, program chairman; (third row): Rev. Isaiah Snelling, chairman legislative committee; Mrs. W. M. Merkerson, executive board; Mrs. Belle Lyles, chairman life memberships; Mrs. Zonnie DeGroat, youth advisor; and Henry Nickleberry, chairman labor and industry. Eleven executive board members are not shown.*

recent annual membership meeting of the Greenwich Democratic Women's Club. The club, which was founded in January 1954, was holding its fourth annual meeting.

Illinois: Effie Stewart has been re-elected president of the CHICAGO branch, along with Mrs. Ruth Bryant, first vice-president; Wilson Rankin, second vice-president; Robert Bragg, third vice-president; Gloria Jeffries, secretary; and Charles Bell, treasurer.

Eighteenth annual benefit tea sponsored by the Woman's Auxiliary was held on March 16 at the Parkway Ballroom. Christine Nicholoson served as general chairman, and a feature of the affair was a "Miss NAACP Contest."

Newly installed officers of the Chicago branch YOUTH COUNCIL are Michael Hollins, president; Ruth Alexander, vice-president; Krestell Grayboy, secretary; and Viavery Shiard, secretary.

Iowa: Second NAACP life member in the state of Iowa is Mrs. Mary Ashley, a member of the Des Moines branch; Ike Smalls is the other.

Massachusetts: Annual New England conference of the NAACP will be held at PITTSFIELD in the Wendell-Sherwood Hotel April 26-27. Over

500 delegates, representing some 28 branches throughout New England, are expected to attend.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary, will be the main speaker at the Saturday banquet. Arthur Johnson, president of the Hartford branch, will act as toastmaster. Johnson is a field representative for the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights. Mrs. Frances DuVal of Pittsfield is chairman of the committee in charge of reservations.

The Sunday afternoon program in Pittsfield High School Auditorium will have U. S. Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee; Val J. Washington, director of minorities of Republic National Committee, and Dr. Vernon X. Miller, dean of the school of law at Catholic University of America.

Michigan: Installation ceremonies for officers of the SAGINAW COUNTY branch were held in December, 1957, at the Mount Olive Baptist church in Saginaw.

Minnesota: Howard Bennett, president of the MINNEAPOLIS branch, has now become Judge Howard Bennett after his appointment to the local municipal bench. Judge Bennett was appointed on his merits and for his outstanding record as a practicing attorney. He was also the first Negro to have been appointed to a prominent local law firm, the firm of Hall, Smith and Hedlund. He later became a member of the firm.

ST. PAUL branch president Leonard Carter is a representative on the Mayor's Citizens' Commission to study solutions for discrimination in local housing.

The branch is also investigating insurance discrimination in Minnesota. Evidence shows that several types of insurance policies are being withheld from Negroes and that life insurance is not solicited among Negroes in states having anti-discrimination legislation.

Mrs. Mary Ashley (C) recently became the second NAACP life member in the state of Iowa. Mrs. Guy Greene, state secretary, and Ike Smalls, an NAACP vice-president, congratulate Mrs. Ashley.

The branch has appointed the following committee chairmen for 1958: Donald Lewis, membership and finance; Richard Fox, housing; Sandy Perry, press and publicity; Earline Neil, entertainment; Robert Patterson, veterans; Leroy Lazenberry, community coordination; Mrs. Beatrice Boyd, youth work; Atty. Stephen Maxwell, legal redress; Mrs. Earl Preston, legislation; James Griffin, labor and industry; and Earl McGee, education.

Missouri: The ten-day "freedom line" demonstration conducted by the job opportunities council of the ST. LOUIS branch at the A and P supermarket at 4950 Easton came to a dramatic close on January 17, following a successful conference between NAACP representatives and top A and P officials.

Representing the NAACP at the conference were T. D. McNeal, chairman of the job opportunities council; Ernest Calloway, president of the St. Louis branch; and Atty. Charles Oldham, chairman of the branch legal redress committee.

During the week various unions had sought to arrange conferences with company officials and NAACP representatives to explore the basis for an understanding. This included the Retail Clerks Union and the Meat-Cutters Local 88.

Upon arrangement, the "freedom lines" were removed at the exact moment the discussions began at the company office.

Specifically, the results from the conference provided:

In co-operation with the meat-cutters union, the company will place a Negro apprentice meat-cutter at the Easton Avenue store within the next ten days, and another meat-cutter will be hired as soon as possible;

More Negro clerks will be placed in the supermarkets in the Negro community;

Negroes will be hired above the porter level on a replacement basis at the company's warehouse and bakery;

A studied effort will be made by the company to introduce Negro clerical workers into the St. Louis general office. This personnel will be obtained by promotion of Negroes already working for the company;

The Company will use its influence to have its contract haulers employ Negro truck drivers;

Future conferences will be held periodically between NAACP and management to review and study progress being made in these areas of employment.

T. D. McNeal, in commenting upon the conference, stated: "The credit for the successful conference must be shared with the A and P Company, the Meat Cutters Union, the Retail Clerks Union and the many citizens who joined the 'freedom lines' to dramatically call this problem to the attention of the Company and the community as a whole."

New Jersey: First 1958 executive board meeting of the JERSEY CITY branch was held on January 8 at the YWCA on Fairmont Avenue.

New officers of the Jersey City branch were installed on January 19, with the installation and address being made by NAACP field secretary Calvin Banks. Officers are Rev. Eugene Avery, president; Leon Geant, first vice-president; Mrs. Nora Fant, second vice-president; William Pritt, third vice-president; Mrs. Eola Jett, secretary; and Walter Singleton, treasurer.

The executive board consists of Charles Alston, Robert Green, Lawrence Johnson, Jr., Harold Morris, Addison McLeon, Alexander Pitts, Levi Simmons, Leo Smith, Sr., Oliver Timbers, Barnett Wallace, Coley Williams, Atty. Raymond Brown, and the Reverends Henry Sideboard and Garfield Taylor.

New York: Florence V. Lucas has been re-elected president of the JAMAICA branch. Other officers are William Booth, vice-president; Mrs. Ronetta Batson, secretary; J. Harry Noisette, treasurer; and Patricia Burnett, assistant secretary. The following are on the executive committee: Mrs. Florence Brown, Mrs. Sylvia De Shore, Selena Girardeau, Mrs. Joyce McCray, Una Mulzac, Mrs. Grace Sevier, Mrs. Frosty Turner, Rev. Emmer Booker, Rev. James Moore, Rev. Robert Johnson, Lawrence Bailey, Roger Benjamin, Marvin Beasley, Fred Fyman, Leonard Gould, Bruce Howard, Irving Karp, Neville Lake, and Peter Saltz.

The Jamaica branch combined the celebration of Negro History and Brotherhood Weeks, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Arlein Straw. Dr. Jeanne Noble, guidance counselor and instructor at New York City College, was the guest speaker. There was also an exhibit of the works of Negro painters, photographers, writers, etc.

Former housing chairman Lorenzo S. Hayman of the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch has been oppointed a deputy town clerk by the Babylon Town board.

Nevada: New officers of the RENO-SPARKS branch are Ulysses Woodard, president; S. B. Warrick, vice-president; Mrs. Elena Gibson, secretary; Mrs. Bertha Woodward, corresponding secretary; and J. T. Needham, treasurer.

Wisconsin: "Operation Metropolitan—Living Together in a Growing Milwaukee" was the theme of a human relations institute held under co-sponsorship of the MILWAUKEE branch local community groups on February 1.

Second vice-president of the Milwaukee branch, Stanley P. Hebert, is the first Negro to be appointed an assistant city attorney in Milwaukee. Mr. Hebert and the other new assistant city attorney tied for first place on the civil service examination eligibility list after a test given last March. Mr. Hebert was at one time associated with Brawley, Wilson & Tarney, which he described as the city's first interracial law firm. Before the firm broke up in 1951, Mr. Hebert was an attorney investigator for the office of price stabilization.

* * * *

YOUTH COUNCIL AND COLLEGE CHAPTER NEWSLETTER

The most significant contributions of the youth and college program during 1957 were undoubtedly the series of career guidance conferences, and the assistance given to the 7 former student leaders at Alcorn College, in Mississippi, in securing admission to Central State College and Virginia Union University without the loss of credits, or time, in their respective study programs.

Through conferences and workshops, thousands of Negroes and other minority group students received information for the first time about new job opportunities which are now open to them and were stimulated to prepare themselves to take advantage of these opportunities.

The National Inter-Fraternity Conference has adopted a resolution calling for a hands-off policy on fraternity membership provisions by college administrations and other external sources. It also accepted a report citing 63 "trouble colleges" where fraternity autonomy is involved. Herbert Brown, former N.I.C. chairman and head of the Committee which drew up the "Autonomy Report" and proposal, defined autonomy as "the right to select our own friends and associates on whatever basis we choose."

* * * *

The Oberlin (Ohio) college chapter will serve as host to a Midwest conference of college students on "Human Relations and Higher Education." The conference, to be held during the latter part of April, will focus attention on the role which college students can play in helping to break down racial segregation and discrimination and in creating a more favorable climate for the acceptance of real integration at all levels of activity.

The Dallas (Texas) Council, under the able leadership of "Tommy" Teal, is currently working on a program to help prepare Negro youth for integration into the city's school system. The San Antonio council, led by John Luke, had a successful king and queen contest which netted the group more than $1,000.

The Philadelphia council had two successful career guidance conferences during November and December. More than 300 youths attended each of the respective programs. The council, incidentally, is headed by Andrea Coverdale. The Detroit council also had a well-attended career guidance conference in December.

Congratulations are in order for the Savannah (Georgia) council for its successful efforts during the recent voter-registration drive. Ditto for the Atlanta and Norfolk councils for the very effective work which they did in this important area.

* * * *

The Boston youth council is currently working on a program of community education. Michael Lane, former president of the Yale University NAACP chapter, is currently a freshman student at Harvard Medical School. Harry Delany, former official of the New York University chapter,

is now a senior at Columbia University Medical School. The Stanford University (California) chapter is currently working on the problem of fraternity bias clauses. Ditto Brown University, Columbia University, New York University, Brooklyn College, University of Michigan, Indiana University, University of Illinois and the University of Colorado chapters.

The Colorado chapter, by the way, plans to conduct a statewide information-education program to inform Negro youth of new opportunities in the field of education.

Florida A. & M. Chapter finished the year as the largest college unit in the NAACP—Membership: 497.

The Fisk University (Tenn.) Chapter is currently working on education program to inform Negro citizens of non-segregated seating rights.

University of Chicago Chapter sponsored a successful concert by Josh White which netted the group more than $900.

The University of Minnesota chapter, in conjunction with the school's newspaper, is conducting a campus audit to determine if there is any discrimination on the university campus.

Homozell Swisher of Berkeley, California, youth council was re-elected president of the Northern California area youth Division.

Onita Hicks was also elected president of the San Francisco council, succeeding Edwin McClinton.

College chapters have recently been organized at the universities of Colorado, Minnesota, Illinois, Pittsburgh, and Roosevelt College in Chicago, Illinois.

MRS. EFFIE GORDON *(L, standing), installs New York branch officers: front row, from L, Peggy Dickson, Barbara Walker, secretary; Roscoe Butler, Edith Beritz, assistant secretary; Russell Crawford, president; Vivian Greene, youth advisor; Rosetta Muse, Ethel Maxwell, Aloncita Flood; (2nd row): James Watson, Emil Ramirez, LeRoy Clark; Rev. L. S. White, vice-president; Rev. David Licorish; James Allen, Jawn Sandifer; (back row): William Lake, Jeff Greenup, treasurer; L. Wingate, Moses Johnson, Edward Beresford, Martin Washington, and Dr. Gregory Brown.*

College and School News

THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY DIVISION OF GENERAL EDUCATION is now offering a new lecture-discussion course on Africa south of the Sahara. Coordinated by Thomas R. Adams, the course is served by the following guest lecturers: Sir Andrew Cohen, Representative Frances P. Bolton, Joseph Palmer II, F. Taylor Ostrander, and Mason Sears.

■

An allocation of $16,891.21 has been received by JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY from the United Negro College Fund. This amount brings the total received by the university from the national appeal to $42,423.76.

UNCF funds have been used principally by JSCU to provide scholarships and work aid for exceptional students and to purchase books, laboratory, and classroom equipment, as well as to enlarge the library reading room and to supplement teachers salaries.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY has received an allocation of $12,542.70 from the United Negro College Fund. This is the third and final allocation to Shaw from the proceeds to the 1957 UNCF nationwide campaign.

■

Directors of public relations, and delegates, from fifteen Negro colleges were in attendance at the Public Relations Institute held at JCSU on January 17. Purpose of the institute was to explore the mutual problems in a comparatively new program in most Negro colleges.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY announces a new program of fellowships in which each fellow will be given a grant of $1,000 for the nine-month academic year. Fellowships will be awarded on the basis of intellect, character, motivation, academic achievement, and personality.

AU has been awarded a grant of $600 from the Association of College and Research Libraries for the acquisition of *The New York Times* on microfilm for the years 1949-1953.

The AU library is one of 87 libraries to receive a grant from a $30,000 fund contributed for 1957-58 by the United Steel Foundation, *The New York Times*, and Remington Rand. AU received its grant from the $5,000 contributed specifically by the *Times* for purchase of back copies of that newspaper on microfilm.

Seventeenth annual AU exhibition of paintings, sculpture and prints by Negro artists will be held at the university March 30-April 27. Purchase awards totaling $1,400 will be distributed.

■

The DELTA SIGMA THETA SOROR-

SHAW UNIVERSITY *students who have been selected to represent their school in the 1957-58 edition of "Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges." From L they are Margarette Purvis, Roman Walton, Amelia Smith, Frederick Boddie, all seniors; and Vonzie Erwin, junior. Standing, from L, are Mabel McRae, senior; George Stokes, Jr., junior; Emily Winstead, Howard Pritchard, and Jean Deloatch, all seniors.*

ITY has presented its five-point program for increasing job opportunities for Negroes to the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

■

Birdie McAllister, science supervisor of the Dade county, Florida, public schools writes on the "International Geophysical Year" in the January-February, 1958, of the VIRGINIA EDUCATION BULLETIN, official organ of the Virginia Teachers Association, Inc. "Drop-Outs" and "TV-Teaching Medium," by George Peterson, Jr., and H. K. Breedlove, respectively, are also discussed in this same issue.

■

Twenty-three students of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE have been nominated to represent the college in the 1957-58 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges.*

VSC plans an Institute for high school teachers of general science, under the direction of Dr. F. H. Dunn, to be held on the campus June 30-August 8. Three VSC professors, augmented by a staff of visiting pro-

fessors, will constitute the faculty.

Alpha Eta chapter of the Alpha Kappa Mu National Honor Society at VSC presented a panel on "The Effects of Nuclear Weapons" recently at the college. This is the society's first project for the current year.

Director Myles Horton of the HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL (Monteagle, Tennessee) was main speaker in the St. John Unitarian church in Cincinnati on January 16 in a series on "Facts for Fellowship," sponsored by the Fellowship House of Cincinnati, Ohio.

■

Dr. Nick Aaron Ford, professor and head of the department of English at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, has been appointed to the executive committee of the Conference on College Composition and Communications.

Teachers College has awarded a professional diploma in music and music education to Mrs. Dorothy Banks, assistant professor of music at Morgan. A member of the Morgan faculty since 1944, Mrs. Banks attended Oberlin Conservatory and received the A.B. degree from Fisk. She holds the M.A. degree from Teachers College, Columbia University.

Morgan is assembling a top-flight faculty, including scholars from the Johns Hopkins University and Brook-

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lyn College, for the Second Summer Institute for High School Teachers of Science, June 23-August 15. The institute will be directed by Dr. Thomas P. Fraser, head of the department of science education.

■

Nine TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE students have been elected for inclusion in *Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities, 1957.*

■

Major General Paul R. Hawley, one of the most renowned figures in the world of medicine, will deliver the 1958 commencement address at MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE.

The Board of Commissioners of the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals has approved the recommendation that Hubbard Hospital of Meharry be accredited.

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must have been in operation at least 12 months; and, if located in the United States, must be listed in the Administraator's Guide issue of "Hospitals" published by The American Hospital Association.

Doris Williams, a senior in the Meharry Hubbard Hospital school of nursing, has been selected to represent the hospital in the "Miss Methodist Student Nurse" contest for 1958.

Noble F. Payton, director of development of Meharry, is the first Negro ever appointed as a full-time director of development in American collegiate circles. Mr. Peyton went to Meharry in 1953 as special assistant to the president and was promoted to director of development in 1956.

Dr. Ralph J. Cazort, associate professor of pharmacology, has returned to Meharry from Indonesia where he was visiting professor of pharmacology at the University of Djakarta.

■

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE mourns the sudden death of Dr. Irving A. Derbigny, administrative dean and vice-president, who died of a heart attack on December 10, 1957. Dr. Derbigny came to Tuskegee in 1936 to fill the position of administrative dean, and and was made vice-president in 1949. He held an A.B. degree from Talladega, an A.M. from Cornell, a Ph.D. from Columbia, and an M.A. in education from the University of Minnesota.

Annual memorial services for the late Dr. Robert Russa Moton, Tuskegee's second president, was held in Logan Hall on December 1, 1957.

■

THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH is offering four courses on Africa this spring, with special interest given to the concerns of those who contemplate some firsthand contact with Africa and to those who have a more general though personal interest in Africa affairs.

■

The National Council of UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND alumni, representing 160,000 graduates and

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former students of the Fund's 33 member colleges, held its twelfth annual conference in the Sheraton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, February 8-9. Principal conference speaker was Lee H. Bristol, president of Bristol-Myers Company, who was national UNCF campaign chairman in 1956 and 1957.

■

THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY announces the publication of *Curator*, a new quarterly journal, designed to contribute to the total fund of museum knowledge by providing a forum for the exchange of ideas on contemporary museum problems.

In the first issue, published in January, thirteen leading museum authorities explore problems of research, administration, professional standards, techniques of exhibition, construction and design, community relations, planetarium and museum teaching.

Three courses of value to the classroom teacher, and offering in-service credit, were presented by the AMNH beginning the first week in February.

"Exploration with a Space Satellite," a timely set of twenty-four 2 by 2 color slides with an accompanying script prepared by American Museum-Hayden Planetarium astronomer Thomas D. Nicholson, has just been revised and brought up-to-the-minute, and is now available for purchase or rental from the Museum's Slide Library.

An iron axehead, made for a Viking warrior more than a thousand years ago, went on view on the fourth floor of the Museum in January.

The axehead, in an extremely fine state of preservation, was presented to the Museum by the master of the Norwegian school ship *Christian Radich* as a gift of the Museum of Natural Antiquities of Oslo University.

ENLIST FOR LIFE IN THE NAACP AND JOIN

THE CRUSADE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

Book Reviews

THE INDISPENSABLE PELHAM

***Forty Years in Politics: The Story of Ben Pelham.* By Aris A. Mallas, Jr., Rea McCain, and Margaret K. Hedden. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957. 92 pp. $3.00.**

The authors of this slim volume acknowledge in a preface their "respect and admiration" for the subject of their biographical study. The text reveals, also, their amazement and awe that a Negro should attain the position and influence which Ben Pelham held in Wayne County (Detroit), Michigan, that he should conduct his office with such efficiency, and that he should exercise his influence with such consistent tact and scrupulous honesty.

Forty Years in Politics not only recounts the life and achievements of the most distinguished of the well-known Pelham clan; it also illumines the early cultural and political history of the Negro in Detroit—a study which has largely been lost sight of in the welter of the industrial and racial strife which has since descended upon that city. As such it is an invaluable reference work on the status of the Negro in a large northern city prior to World War I.

There is a Horatio Alger quality in the story of Ben Pelham, but with a difference. As a Negro, he had to demonstrate superior ability to "prove" himself in a not-always-too-friendly white world. Moreover he had that rare "passion for anonymity" with which Alger's heroes were not endowed.

Born in Detroit in 1862 of free parents who had fled their native Virginia, Pelham early developed a resourcefulness and a sense of responsibility which enabled him to take advantage of every opportunity which came his way. Starting out as a journalist, he later entered the political arena. His original appointment as a fiscal officer in the county government was purely political. However, he won promotions, expanded his influence and finally attained the position of county accountant, the highest non-elective position in the county government, solely on merit. In his long years of service he became so indispensable and so influential that he was widely regarded as the "unofficial county manager." Following his retirement from office in 1942, he died in 1948 at the age of 86.

HENRY LEE MOON

CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

***American Churches and the Negro.* By W. D. Weatherford. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1957. 310 pp. $3.50.**

Dr. W. D. Weatherford of Berea College has made another significant con-

ribution to our thinking in his new book *American Churches and the Negro*. Dr. Weatherford is author of several books on this subject and his writings, and he as a person, command respect. Those who do not know what the attitude of the American churches was toward the Negro in slavery in the first half of the 19th Century and after, should read this book. Those who know what the attitude was should refresh their memories by reading it. Those who would like to know what the present attitude of the churches is and what their attitude ought to be should read Dr. Weatherford's book, *American Churches and the Negro*. It is a historical document tracing the churches' attitude toward the Negro from early slave days to the present time.

No one can read the book without receiving valuable information and no minister can read it without his conscience being stirred and without being challenged to apply the Christian Gospel in the area of worship and church membership. The author is forthright. He makes no apologies for a segregated church and boldly states that the hour demands a Christian church which is open to all peoples irrespective of race or color.

It is interesting to note that Christian fellowship was much more real in several churches during the days of slavery than it is in most churches in the South today. In many instances, masters and slaves did worship together side by side. Commenting on this point, Dr. Weatherford says: "In other words, the antebellum white Christians looked upon the Negro as a possible son of God who had a right to every privilege of the church and it did not offend them to see him partaking of all these privileges; but, politically and economically, the slave rested under a curse and had no standing. We of the present time have reversed this attitude. We claim that the Negro has full right to economic, civic and political freedom, but we are sure that socially and religiously he must be completely separate and segregated. We not only would not call a Negro pastor to our church, however able and brilliant, but in most churches it would be at the cost of his position that a white pastor invite a Negro minister to fill his pulpit." At another point, Dr. Weatherford says: "It is probably impossible for any white person to put himself completely into the position of a Negro, or for a colored person to completely understand and put himself into the place of a white man. But it ought not to be impossible for a white Christian to understand how a colored Christian must feel when he faces the many frustrations of daily life."

Most men become conservative with the years and do not take courageous positions—not so with W. D. Weatherford.

BENJAMIN E. MAYS

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS, *a member of the national board of the NAACP, is president of Morehouse College.*

ROBESON EXPLAINS

***Here I Stand.* By Paul Robeson. New York: Othello Associates, 1958. 128pp. $2.50. (Paperbound, $1.50)**

This is Mr. Robeson's apologia for his political beliefs and public actions during the past seventeen years. He uses a prologue, five chapters, an epiloque, and five appendixes in an attempt to explain where he now stands with respect to Negro advancement and Soviet Russia. His explanations, however, are disorderly and confusing and what comes through is the blurred picture of a man with a large sense of mission but with no practicable plan for its achievement.

Just published

The story of Robert Smalls, who rose from slavery to become an outstanding spokesman for his people.

CAPTAIN of the PLANTER

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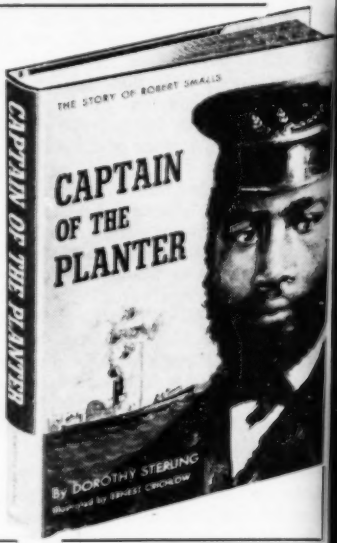
THE STORY OF ROBERT SMALLS
CAPTAIN OF THE PLANTER
CAPTAIN OF THE PLANTER
By DOROTHY STERLING
Illustrated by ERNEST CRICHLOW

At no time since his return to the States in 1939 could Mr. Robeson be dubbed a Negro leader. In fact, he had little to do with Negroes and he always lent his talents to the Communist and Russian cause. Mixed and all-white left-wing groups could always get Mr. Robeson's support, but ordinary Negroes and their organizations could not even get a reply to a letter. He has mostly sentimental roots among American Negroes. Negroes admired him as an athlete and concert singer and applauded his frequent outbursts against the degradation of his people, but they never regarded him as a leader, nor did they admire him for strict adherence to the Communist Party line.

Mr. Robeson is still naive and unaware of present-day realities. He imagines his misfortunes to stem, not from his own bungling, but from the persecution of "the white folks on top." Denying Mr. Robeson a passport is, of course, silly. America has nothing to fear from Mr. Robeson's Communist clichés (of which this book is full), and which he still parrots. He apparently has learned nothing.

J.W.I.

RIVER BOAT CAPTAIN

***Captain of the Planter: The Story of Robert Smalls.* By Dorothy Sterling. Illustrated by Ernest Crichlow. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1958. 264pp.**

Robert Smalls was born on April 5, 1839, in Beaufort on Port Royal Island, South Carolina. His mother, Lydia Smalls, had been born on Ladies Island, across the river from Beaufort. Her owner, Henry McKee, later took mother and son to his home in Beaufort. A drop in cotton prices and unwise investments made it necessary for

Myron Ehrenberg

DOROTHY STERLING, *author of* Captain of the Planter, *The Story of Robert Smalls, and Ernest Crichlow (L), illustrator, are pictured after consulting with Robert Smalls' son, William Robert Smalls.*

little Robert's master to hire the boy out for wages in Charleston. Charleston was a new experience for the twelve-year-old boy with its Negro craftsmen —blacksmiths, harness-makers, painters, pilots, plasterers, etc.—and free Negroes who owned property, and in some instances slaves.

He became a waiter at the Planter Hotel, and two years later at the age of fifteen the boss of a crew of stevedores. He then became a sailmaker and rigger, and finally a pilot. About this time he married Hannah Jones. But as slaves neither one collected his pay: it went to their respective masters. But Hannah had a plan. She got her husband's owner, Henry McKee, to accept a "monthly payment of fifteen dollars from his slave, Robert." To her master Samuel Kingman she gave a monthly payment of seven dollars. Then they found ways of getting food and shelter.

Robert was soon rated one of the best pilots in Charleston. "The *Planter,*" of which Smalls later became "captain," "was a paddle-wheel steamer owned by Captain John Ferguson and chartered to the Confederate Government for $125 a day. One hundred and forty feet long and fifty wide, she could transport fourteen hundred bales of cotton or one thousand armed men.

One of the fastest ships in the harbor, she was particularly valuable for river work because her light draft allowed her to travel in shallow coastal waters without running aground."

When Fort Sumter fell, the Yankees moved into Beaufort. Smalls soon worked out a scheme to take the *Planter* over to the Union side and to free himself and his family. This feat made him both a national hero and a free man. He later became a Congressman, a spokesman "for all the people in his district."

Captain of the Planter is a lively story despite the author's effusive display of sentiment and her frequent stagy effects.

J.W.I.

Harrell

JACKIE ROBINSON *congratulates winning NAACP mothers during a freedom fund rally held in Raleigh, North Carolina. Mrs. L. L. Graham of Burlington, who raised $654, is crowned "NAACP Mother of 1957." Mrs. U. S. Brooks of Charlotte was second with $600, and Mrs. Janie Long, Gastonia, third with $177.*

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